ALBANIAN *PIDH* : SLAVIC *PEIZD'Ǻ*

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The Slavic cognates of Alb. *pidh, -i* 'vagina' are well known and widely attested: Russ *pizdá*, Ukr. *pyzdá* Bulg. and Boboščica (Albania) Macedonian *pízda*, Čakavski Serbian *pízdä̀*, Slovene *pízda*, Czech. *pízda*, Polish and Sorbian *pizda*, Polab. *péizda*. There can be no doubt of a Proto-Slavic *peizd'á*.

Trautmann (211) and Vasmer (*REW*, 2.355) are surely right in branding Lith. *pyzdà* and Lett. *pīzda* loanwords. Trautmann also allows the possibility that OPruss. *peisda* is a loan, but Vasmer has it "urverwandt", along with Alb. *pidh, -i*. Considering the vocalism, as well as the meaning 'arse', there seems little reason to doubt the inherited status of the Old Prussian form.[1]

Trautmann then goes on to posit for the Albanian form a shape *pizd-* or *pīzd-*, citing Meyer and Jokl. In view of the close agreement of Balto-Slavic and Albanian on this term, it seems much more reasonable to posit *peizd-* (or *peisd-*), although it should be noted that the genders (f. in Balto-Slavic, m. in Albanian) do not tally. If this is so, we have yet another instance of IE *ei* for Albanian to put beside *dimën* (see *IF*, 66.52-5, 1961). We have at the same time an interesting correspondence of detail shared by Balto-Slavic and Albanian exclusively. Moreover, this correspondence, if true, involves an innovation which requires further explanation. If, as has been assumed (Rozwadowski, *IF*, 5.354, 1895), this noun is etymologically an old complex *pi-* (: *epi*) plus *sd-*, zero-grade of *sed-*, we must assume, from the point of view of Indo-European, an abnormal formation with "normal grade" *pei-* in an element (an old locative particle, at bottom) not regularly subject to such alternations. Pedersen (*KZ*, 38.418) has suggested that

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[1] Despite Jokl's claim (*IF*, 30.200-1) to the contrary that OPruss. *ei* is not decisive against a posited vocalism /ī/. Jokl thereby seeks to make the Lettish and Lithuanian related.

peisda was related to *pьzdéti* as Lat. *pōdex* was to *pēdo*, Gk. βδέω. He was at the time more interested in the relationships of meaning and the possibility of seeing nouns derived from such verbs. But following up his suggestion in the case of *pьzdéti* with more emphasis on the question of the formal relationships, we immediately recognize that this verb, if analyzed synchronically as *pьzd-é-ti* rather than *pi-sd-*, belonged to a class that characteristically showed zero-grade in the root. Therefore, it would be natural to find a full-grade noun alongside it. Thus, from the internal Balto-Slavic point of view, it is easy to understand the motivation for the fresh formation of this apparently unetymological vocalic grade.

In passing, we may suppose that Lith. *pìsti pisù pisaũ* 'futuere' is neither from an impossible *piz-*, as Miklosich (*Et. Wb.*) would have it, nor from *pes-* (πέος 'penis') with Leskien, Wiedemann, Fick, Bechtel and Rozwadowski, nor from *pis-* 'grind, poke' with Brugmann, since now we should expect optimally Lith. -*š*- (Karaliunas, *Baltistica* 1.2., 1966). I propose that it is simply a fresh verb formed analogically *pizd-ti* > *pis-ti*. Then *pìzė* and *pyzà* would be analogical folk distortions based on the old noun crossed with the apparent new verb stem.

Once we consider this point of ablaut, we realize that *peizd¹á* is not alone. If we regard this as continuing *pi-sd-* (: Skt. *pīḍayati*, Gk. πιέζω *pisedi̯-*)[2] we are reminded of the similarly formed *ni-sd-* 'nest' (Skt. *nīḍá-*, Lat. *nīdus; IEW*, 887), which turns out in Slavic as *gnēzd¹o* (Russ. *gnezdó*, Štokav. *gnézdo, gnijèzdo*, Czech *hnízdo*).[3] Regardless of the problem of the initial, we seem here to have a pre-Slavic *(X)naizd¹aN* (*X* stands for a laryngeal), with apparent ablaut *noi-*, a monstrosity from an IE point of view, but a normal Balto-Slavic thematic nominal formation.

On the other hand, Lith. *lìzdas* points to an earlier *(X)nizda-*. Thus the innovation *(X)naizda-* is restricted to Slavic, and presupposes a verb *nizd-é-t(e)i* underlying the group, parallel to *pizd-é-t(e)i*. We thus posit a verb implied by the Slavic evidence which would be cognate with Armenian *nstim* 'sit (down)'; see Meillet, *Esquisse*, 108 on the last.

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[2] See also H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, 21.526 (1958), on Skt. *ut-sad-*, and Iranian *had* *'treat violently'. The Ashkun Kafir of Wama seems to continue a derivative of *piḍ-* in *pəṛ¹i* 'pudenda muliebris' (G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, 16.119, 1951), which we may perhaps reconstruct as *pīḍikā*.

[3] "vielleicht zu d. *Nest* usw. (lit. *lìzdas*), aber lautlich unklar" – Pedersen, *IF*, 5.72 (1895).